

The Workers Vanguard

January, 1956—Vol. 1, No. 2

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Toronto—price 5 cents

SEL ANALYZES TORONTO VOTE

On Monday, Dec. 5th, 2,374 Toronto workers went to the polls and cast their ballots for Dowson; 3,863 cast their ballots for Stanton. Dowson, as mayoralty candidate and Stanton, as Board of Control candidate, were sponsored by the newly formed Socialist Educational League.

This vote was rolled up in the face of an almost total capitalist press blackout and a treacherous stab in the back by the provincial secretary of the Ontario Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and Board of Control candidate Ford Brand, against the Dowson-Stanton candidatures.

The election was a sweeping victory for the Tory administration. The only bright spot was the hard-hitting, inspiring, socialist campaign conducted against enormous odds by the Socialist Educational League.



Dowson

Only 29 per cent of the 300,000 who qualify for the franchise despite reactionary property restrictions, cast their ballots. This is 5 per cent less than last year and the lowest in almost a decade. The boss parties finally jammed through the two-year term, on this their seventh attempt in 15 years, with a majority of 14,330. Over 18,000 voters did not cast a ballot on the question.

Ford Brand, endorsed by the CCF and both labor councils, whose opportunism won him the support of the three capitalist dailies and wide support in the most conservative sections of the city, headed the Board of Control poll again but his vote dropped almost 15 per cent.

Harry Hunter, candidate of the Labor Progressive Party (Stalinist), again in the campaign for one

of the four Board of Control seats, saw his vote cut by more than a third to 9,498 votes.

The biggest single factor in the precipitous decline in the labor vote was the failure of the leadership of the CCF to present a slate of labor candidates or even anything remotely resembling one.

In the nine wards that the city is divided into for the election of councillors, the CCF presented one candidate in two of them and two in another. The other six wards, the most populous in the city, had no CCF councillor candidates. With no one to cast their ballot for on a ward basis and disheartened by the record of Ford Brand, thousands of CCF voters failed to go to the polls.

None of the four who ran campaigned under the party label. But for one exception, they did not present a program that differentiated them from the Tory and Liberal ward heelers. It was Dowson and Stanton who advanced the main planks of the Toronto and District CCF Council's municipal program. Workers desiring to carry over their federal and provincial CCF votes into municipal elections had no way of determining who was a CCF candidate.

The Stalinists, running a broader list than the CCF, also capitulated to the boss-inspired lie that municipal politics are non-partisan, with Hunter going so far as to protest being called an LPPER.

With the failure of the CCF leadership to fill in the gap, the SEL ran Dowson as labor's candidate for mayor and Stanton as labor's candidate for one of the

two open seats on the Board of Control.

Not at all embarrassed by their failure to meet their political responsibilities to labor, the CCF leadership openly attacked Dowson and Stanton. Crawling before the boss administration, they took it upon themselves to dissociate the CCF and labor as a movement from the Dowson-Stanton candidatures.

On four different occasions Brand did so, once in his capacity as acting mayor before the assembled delegates of the Ontario Federation of Labor convention. While basking in the support of the entire boss press Brand viciously repudiated the support of a workers' paper, *The Vanguard*. All capitalist papers on the Saturday before the Monday election carried a letter from Ken Bryden, the provincial secretary of the Ontario CCF, repeating many of the lies framed to expel Trotskyists and other socialists last spring from the Ontario section.

But the SEL put up an inspiring campaign against all these odds. Dowson and Stanton dealt with the real issues confronting the electorate and advanced the socialist solution. This campaign was much more effective than those conducted several years ago by the



Stanton

now dissolved Revolutionary Workers Party behind Dowson for mayor. Although then, in 1949, fresh from sweeping the CCF into office in three quarters of the Toronto provincial seats, the workers went on to roll up 23,645 votes for Dowson.

About 40,000 copies of the first issue of the *Workers Vanguard* carrying the candidates' program were distributed door to door in the working-class areas. Limited canvassing was done. Both Dowson and Stanton spoke on two major Toronto radio stations while the returns were coming in and Dowson spoke on an important program over another major station.

Now the Socialist Educational League, armed with the *Workers Vanguard*, is preparing to capitalize on the excellent work done in the election campaign.

Soviet Congress Hears Stalin Cult Attacked

By ROSS DOWSON

Big developments are taking place in the Soviet Union. The speeches of the government heads to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union reflecting these developments, have launched waves of speculation as to their meaning and probable unfoldment.

The congress heard from the lips of Khrushchev and Mikoyan that: for about 20 years there had been no collective leadership in the Soviet CP, that there had been a cult of an individual as a hero and miracle worker, that Stalin's dictum on economic problems of socialism in the USSR was wrong, that shortly after the death of Lenin Soviet jurisprudence went off the path, that the role of certain prominent figures in Soviet history has been done violence to and the history texts must be re-written.

These attacks on the Stalin cult and on the Stalin regime come from an entirely different source than one would expect. It is the name of Lenin's murdered co-worker, Leon Trotsky, that history has identified with the struggle to restore the regime enjoyed in the early days of the USSR. It was he who explained to the workers what Stalinism was and launched the struggle against it in the USSR and the international labor movement.

But these strictures came from the lips of Stalin's heirs, men who were for long years Stalin's henchmen, who were party to and essential to the implementation of Stalin's crimes. These attacks echoed through the ranks of an assemblage of delegates representing the millions of bureaucrats who were and are today the chief beneficiaries of Stalin's crimes. The condemnations of Stalin received the plaudits of representatives of Communist Parties throughout the world. Only yesterday they gave the same enrapt applause to Stalin and took every twist and turn dictated by his policies.

Do these developments mean that the bureaucracy, that wallowed through blood and gore to the political expropriation of the Soviet peoples, is in the process of reforming itself? Perhaps even leading a march to restoration of workers' democracy and the unfettered development of the economy towards socialism?

Not only does such a conclusion have no real evidence to sustain it but it does violence to a correct understanding of the character of the bureaucracy and of Stalin's role—not to speak of other facts of the congress.

Stalin was not the creator of the bureaucracy, rather the bureaucracy created him—he became its

instrument. With his death the bureaucracy had to find a new face. His historic role was to root out all centers of working class opposition standing in the way of the rule of the bureaucracy. This could be done only by a policy of blood and iron.

Today his heirs, in order to rule, must establish their own legitimacy. This need of the new regime, of the new group of leaders jockeying for the position of supreme



BULGANIN

arbiter of the ruling caste is to build a favorable public image of itself. But even more important, the universal hatred of Stalin forces his heirs as a matter of practical power politics to proclaim a "new deal."

Besides seeking to establish their competency as rulers, Stalin's heirs made more direct appeals to the bureaucratic caste. Inner party democracy has been re-established, 20 years of abuses have been ended, so the speeches went.

While he made this appeal Khrushchev also brandished a whip. "The party has become still more monolithic." If anyone has any idea of actually exercising democracy, he implied, let him consider the fate of "The Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists and other malignant enemies of the people... all of whom broke their necks."

A considerable portion of the major speeches were addressed to the Soviet peoples. Conditions are going to be better. The bureaucracy took the credit for changes in the international relationship of forces between imperialism and the Soviet bloc which are due to causes deeply lodged in the international class struggle. So also they took

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Stalin Cult Under Attack

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credit for the increasing availability of the necessities of life, due to the expansion of the planned economy established by the October revolution.

What is interesting in this cajolery and demagoguery is the intimation given of pressures in the Soviet Union. The masses clearly want an end to Stalinism. Looking abroad, seeing a weakened capitalist system and a great new ally in revolutionary China, they want a leadership capable of carrying the struggle for socialism to a successful conclusion on a world-wide scale.

Whereas the bureaucracy in 1928 faced a tired working class which was a minority of the population, today they face the second largest working class in the world—a working class that has jumped from 10.8 million to over 47 million—young, grown in skill and culture. The Kremlin finds it necessary to recognize the sentiments of the masses, to give some kind of voice to them and to attempt to stay at the head of them in order not to be flattened out by them.

While appealing to the masses in the name of Lenin, and to the bureaucracy in the spirit of Leninist collective leadership, Khrushchev formally buried Lenin's teachings. No doubt, his argument proceeded, a danger of war exists but contrary to Lenin's teaching, war, on the part of imperialism against the USSR, China and the buffer states, is no longer inevitable. The increasing strength of socialism, contrary to Lenin's teachings, opens up the possibility of achieving socialism without much further struggle, through new "forms" including conversion of parliament

"from an organ of bourgeois democracy into an instrument of genuinely popular will."

Appealing to Anglo-American imperialism for a treaty, Khrushchev outlined what the Soviet oligarchy is willing to pay for it. This includes non-interference "in the internal affairs of countries where a capitalist system exists." This spells out positively a Kremlin policy of doing everything possible to keep the status quo in capitalist countries.

As payment on account Khrushchev talked about a united front with the Socialist Parties and clearly implied limitation of Stalinist politics to the pattern set by the right wing leadership of these parties—not their left wing rank and file. That is, utilizing positions of leadership in the working class to keep struggles from becoming militant.

This is the course the Stalinists are now following in France. Their particular aim at the moment is to demonstrate their capacity to function in accordance with the right wing policies of Guy Mollet. Not to form a working class coalition to take the power, and legislate socialism but to win a place in the cabinet of a capitalist government that is suppressing the Algerians.

To the mass opposition in the Soviet Union the Kremlin offered demagoguery plus promises of better times to come. To the imperialist wolves the Kremlin offered co-operation in handling working class militancy and colonial rebellions. Thus the new regime remained true to Stalin at the first congress held since his death even while disavowing his methods and tradition.

*For CCF Governments in
the Provinces and Ottawa*

Dumping of Stalin Cult Not Easy For LPP ers

By ROSS DOWSON

The abandonment of the Stalin cult by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is causing acute crises in Communist Parties throughout the world. The membership of these parties are staggering from the effects of the pronouncements coming out of the 20th congress of the CPSU throw-

ing overboard everything that they have been told to believe for a whole generation. The cherished myth of Stalin's infallibility has been shattered.

Now instead of an infallible leader Stalin has been revealed to have been a tyrannical dictator who surrounded himself with lick-spittles and sycophants whom he encouraged in his own exaltation: a man who wrote and rewrote history to his own purposes, who framed and murdered tens of thousands of old-time Bolsheviks, who, linked by a friendship pact with Hitler, refused to pay heed to warnings of the 1941 attack on the USSR and was responsible for the near destruction of the USSR.

For weeks Stalin's disciples in the leadership of the Canadian Labor Progressive Party, who have ruled by right of their unquestioning adherence to the Stalin myth and obedience to his command, retained an embarrassed silence. After the membership had been reading of these astounding developments in the press every day for a month, the March 26 TRIBUNE finally confirmed all the essential details when it reproduced without comment an article from the New York DAILY WORKER written by its Moscow correspondent. The same issue of the TRIBUNE carried an editorial which reveals the staggering effect that Khrushchev's revelations have had on the LPP leadership.

"Naturally," they write, "some of the disclosures have come as a shock to many people to whom Stalin was, as we in Canada have always assumed, the embodiment of the collective leadership of the CPSU." Stewart Smith, Ontario LPP leader, lamely told the press "we took the stand that Stalin was the symbol of the collective power of the party, evidently that was not the case."

Equally evident, the LPP leadership has dumped the Stalin cult without so much as a word on how

or why they were sucked into it, without even an attempt at explanation of its origin, meaning and development.

"As additional authoritative material becomes available," the editors of the Tribune assure us, "we will publish it." "While it is of enormous interest to the people of all countries, the present discussion,"

LPP national organizer Leslie Morris writes, "is primarily the domestic affair of the Soviet people."

Now, the LPP leadership accept the word and deed of Stalin's personally selected and hand-picked heirs, the beneficiaries of his mon-

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Tim Buck Too?

"When he speaks it is the rich, many-sided experience of a hundred struggles in our country—it is the working class itself—that finds a voice."—S. Ryerson.

"He is in truth the conscience and strength of all that is progressive in the labor movement."—Leslie Morris.

"He is beyond question Canada's best trade union leader."—Joseph Salsberg.

These are not eulogies of Stalin from the pages of the Feb. 6, 1950 Tribune but of Tim Buck on the 20th anniversary of his "leadership of Canadian Communism."

Death of Stalin Cult Hits LPPers Cdn. Tribune Swallows New Line

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strous tyranny and the accomplices in all his crimes. They have dumped the cult just as easily as previously they had accepted it.

Fortunately, the editors of the Tribune tell us, LPP national leader Tim Buck was at the 20th Congress and upon his return from Europe where he is receiving medical treatment he will be able to bring us a first-hand account.

What is here being preached is what has been practised for 30 years and what is still the poisonous source of the Stalin cult. The essence of the Stalin cult was to accept without thinking or in violation of one's own thoughts in deference to the court of last resort—Stalin the infallible. Now we are told: wait until Moscow or Tim Buck has told us what to say and do and then that will be passed along as the distilled essence of Marxist wisdom.

Tim Buck, of course, owes much to the Stalin cult—as do the leadership of all the Communist parties—ever since 1928 when he illegally expelled from the Canadian Communist Party—first, the party's leading theoretician Maurice Spector, and later, the party's national secretary Jack MacDonald, leaders of the Trotskyist Left Opposition. Spector and MacDonald only asked to be allowed to discuss within the party, Trotsky's criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern. Buck knew that Stalin was intent on suppressing Trotsky's criticism and he made his decision right then and there to become part of the Stalin cult. The hallmark of the cult was the destruction of internal party democracy, suppression and murder of intransigent communist leaders and members who dared to oppose his views, and the creation of the cult of infallibility.

Now everywhere workers in and around the Stalinist movement are being shaken—dissatisfied with explanations that do not explain. Where did Stalin come from, what interests did he represent, how did he become what he was? WHY Stalin? These are questions that must be answered.

The 20 years of Stalin's rule that have been proscribed take us back to the 17th Congress of the CPSU, to 1934. Stalin was wrong from then on in. Prior to that, according to the Tribune, Stalin was right—right above all in his fight against Trotsky. British CP leader Pollitt

in his apologetics turns everything on its head when he pictures these 10 years as a progressive struggle on Stalin's part against an attempt by Trotsky to slow down industrialization in the USSR. A simple investigation proves this to be a Stalin fabrication, that Trotsky and the Left Opposition were first to call for a five-year plan.

These 10 years, from 1924, the death of Lenin and the suppression of his "Testament" calling for the removal of Stalin, to 1934 and the 17th Congress, were the crucial years when the Stalin regime was consolidated in the course of a political counter-revolution against the heritage of Lenin which was defended by Trotsky.

To really swear off the Stalin cult one must repudiate the specific crimes committed in its name—the whole theory and practice of Stalinism, not just on the national but on the international scale since the death of Lenin.

That record includes the betrayal of the Chinese revolution in 1926; and the betrayal of the German workers in 1933, which made possible the victory of Hitler and all its terrible consequences for the German working class and for the people of Europe. Nothing has been said yet of the betrayal of the Spanish Revolution in 1936 and the murder of Spanish revolutionists by the Stalinist gunmen.

No mention has been made of the policy of social patriotism adopted by all the Stalinist parties allied with the Soviet Union during the Second World War. Under this policy the shameful Stalinists in this country joined the camp of the imperialist masters and became the chief advocates of the no-strike pledge and the most zealous strike-breakers. They toured Quebec attempting to whip up a Yes Vote on the conscription plebiscite and campaigned across the country against the CCF and for a Liberal government.



The Moscow Congress didn't say anything about the betrayal of the revolution in Europe immediately after the war. The French partisans and the Italian partisans had power in their hands, but they were disarmed by the Stalinist policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

They haven't said anything about Stalin's attempt to force the Yugoslav CP into support of King Peter, and failing that, his open sabotage of the Yugoslav revolution. Nothing has been said about his attempts to keep the Chinese CP in coalition with Chiang and block it from taking an independent course to power.

They haven't repudiated another typical manifestation of Stalinism here in Canada. That is the present policy of the LPP against a CCF government, advising the workers to support a Peoples Coalition designed to "Keep Canada Independent" but capitalist, to serve the diplomatic interests of the Kremlin gang.

They have repudiated the cult of

Former Hungarian CP leader Laszlo Rajk, and Bulgarian CP leader Kostov, are now admitted to have been framed and murdered. Under the same charges Slanski, Xoxe, Clementis, etc., were murdered.

In all these frame-ups Leon Trotsky was the main target—Rajk and Kostov were framed as Titoist-Trotskyist spies. Thousands were destroyed in the Moscow Trials as agents of Trotsky—himself murdered in 1940. Trotsky's widow has demanded the rehabilitation of her husband and a complete review of the Moscow Trials.



Stalin and exposed some of his crimes but they haven't yet repudiated Stalinism and the crimes of Stalinism. They have made a start. Hearing the rumbles of the coming political revolution in the Soviet Union the bureaucrats are trying to make it appear that there is a "new deal," that the hated Stalinist regime has ended.

The leaders of the CP's throughout the world are attempting to keep up with and stay on top of the repercussions these far-reaching moves are having in the ranks. For almost 30 years workers in and around the Stalinist movement have been taught to accept without thinking, they are now told that this method was the result of a cult of infallibility deliberately fostered by Stalin which has visited infinite harm upon the working class movement and endangered the defense of the USSR. It serious about fighting cultism LPPers will fight it as revealed in their own ranks. They will have to begin to learn to think. We can be sure, once having started on this course, the Soviet clique will have to fasten new crimes on the fallen idol. This will confront the Bucks and Pollitts with new problems and the ranks of the workers with new material for thought.

"BUCK ANSWERS LPP MEMBERSHIP"

Windy Filibuster on Stalin Cult

By ROSS DOWSON June 1956

Labor Progressive Party ranks, profoundly disturbed by developments arising out of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are asking questions. The party press, *The Canadian Tribune*, after a month's silence, casually joined the anti-Stalin chorus. Now, seven weeks later on, it has been compelled to open its pages to a discussion of the matter through the publication of a series of critical letters.

The most noteworthy comments have come from Montreal LPPers. The Notre Dame de Grace LPP Council has gone "on record as being severely critical of the *Tribune's* lack of editorial reaction" to the Polish paper *Folksstimme* revelations of anti-semitic purges in the USSR. The Council urges the *Tribune* to condemn the crimes and calls "upon the Communists in the Soviet Union to root out the persons responsible for the criminal actions."

The Duval Club calls upon the LPP leadership to publicly condemn "the crimes committed in the Soviet Union against Soviet people" and charges that criticism must be levelled against Soviet officialdom "for the way the information was revealed with no public statement coming from official sources within the Soviet Union itself." They further criticize the LPP leadership for not "immediately implementing the fullest discussion" and the *Tribune* for "glossing over the revelations and adopting a 'business as usual attitude'."

Tim Buck has faced a barrage of questions from the Toronto LPP membership and other interested persons at two meetings now. He was compelled at the last meeting by a motion from the floor and an overwhelming vote, to promise another meeting—not just for questions but for wide open discussion from the floor. At this same meeting Buck accepted a challenge from the floor to debate with the Socialist Educational League on the developments arising out of the 20th Congress CPSU.

The LPP rank and file want clarification. They have received none from the *Tribune* and none from the controlled, filibustered, Toronto meetings where Buck carried the ball without any help from the rest of the LPP leadership. A jolted, disoriented LPP membership is supposedly carrying on a "Leninist discussion" of the repudiation of the cult of Stalin. Yet the key document has been suppressed. Khrushchev's speech to the closed session of the 20th Congress which triggered the drive to destroy the Stalin cult has not been made available.

This has resulted in a ludicrous and contradictory situation. At his Toronto May Day meeting, shortly after his return from Moscow, Buck attacked Stalin for "imperceptibly" taking "into his own office the power of administering practically all matters of personnel"—of doing "many shocking things"—"some of them clearly indefensible for the survival of the socialist state." Buck enumerated some of the "shocking things," "crimes" against certain nationalities, against the Tartars, the Volga-Germans "inconsistent with the Leninist concept of socialism which held that all nations were equal." "Outrages performed against Jewish writers," "the hue and cry and designation of Yugoslavia as a 'fascist-led' state." Grotewahl, in his first speech to the East German CP on returning from Moscow declared that Stalin contributed nothing to the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Yet on May 23, an audience of over 200 LPPers and others heard Buck praise Stalin as one who made great and positive contributions to socialism—all the crimes were heaped on Laurentia Beria. Buck praised Stalin's role in the Russian Revolution at the very moment that the US DAILY WORK-

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ER'S Moscow correspondent was denouncing the "Short Course" and other Stalinist writings because they "push into the foreground the figure of Stalin, minimize and keep silent about the activities of many party workers and heroes of October and reveal but weakly the work of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee as the direct organizer of the uprising." The chairman of this committee was Leon Trotsky—Stalin was not a member of it.

Buck, even under the prodding of questions such as confronted



BUCK

him at the May 15th meeting, has studiously evaded probing beneath Stalin's crimes, connecting or relating them in any way to see what or whose interests they reflect. The Soviet Government, through the concessions that it is now granting under the pressure of the masses, has indirectly confirmed the fact that the late twenties, the thirties and forties saw consistent infringements and destruction of much of the advanced social legislation established by the revolution. Buck studiously refused to see any con-

nection between this whole counter-revolutionary trend and Stalin's "crimes." He talked around a question which suggested that Stalin's

crimes were the crimes of a bureaucracy that for various reasons grew upon Soviet society, consolidating its privileged positions.

But under the probing of another questioner he conceded that Lenin, prior to his death, wrote what has become known as his "Testament." The full document had been distributed outside the meeting by the SEL, but Buck only quoted a portion of it. Buck covered over the section where Lenin proposed that a way be found "to remove Stalin" from the post of General Secretary.

He treated the Testament as if it were an isolated incident whereas it was actually only a portion of the record of Lenin's last political struggle. What Lenin sought to break up was the swift consolidation of a bureaucratic faction in the government and leading party institutions. Its guiding center was the party's Organizational Bureau, headed by the General Secretary, Stalin.

In particular Lenin attacked Stalin's brutal denial of the national self-determination desires of the Georgians. Lenin saw in Stalin's high-handed treatment of the Georgians the most alarming symptom of the rise of bureaucratic rule. Bed-ridden on the eve of the 12th Party Congress, Lenin gave all the material he had prepared against Stalin to Trotsky, urging him to undertake the fight. Finally on March 5, just before a stroke, Lenin sent a letter to Stalin breaking off all personal relations.

Buck at all three meetings praised Stalin for his struggle against Trotsky. But it is now becoming apparent that Trotsky was only carrying forward Lenin's struggle against the bureaucratization of the USSR and later the transformation of the Third International into a diplomatic pawn of this bureaucratic clique headed up by Stalin.

Another questioner challenged Buck—why didn't he know of

Stalin's crimes prior to their being revealed by the late Stalin's lieutenants? The questioner pointed out that the Moscow "Confes-

sion" Trials had been thoroughly exposed at the time by the commission headed by the eminent American philosopher and defender of civil rights, John Dewey. Others such as the Yugoslav government, had also questioned the Trials. Don't you, Buck was charged, investigate all views, even those of opponents?

To discredit the Dewey Commission, Buck dragged out the white-wash job of millionaire businessman ex-US Ambassador Davies. Buck had the gall to state that the evidence in the confessions had not been cracked even by the Dewey Commission. But the world press, even while the defendants were still in the dock, exposed the utter falsity of the evidence — rendezvous in hotels that had been burned down 15 years before, conspiracy flights to airdromes when no planes could or did arrive, etc.

Faced with the awful fact that the LPP is now stripped of its entire tradition, that there is not an issue of its press, not a programmatic document, not a book or

pamphlet that does not contain obvious falsehoods, Buck sought desperately to find something in the record to save face. "While we failed to check up against individual leaders of our party who did," the leadership of the LPP, he boasted, did not officially get into the hue and cry against Yugoslavia.

But Buck was not allowed to establish this feeble point. One of the audience rose to challenge Buck that the LPP did not officially get involved in the anti-Tito campaign. She related that she had been officially expelled from the movement as a "Titoist-fascist" and that a scurrilous attack had been launched against her and others in the official journal of the LPP, NATIONAL AFFAIRS MONTHLY. The challenger sat down in a burst of applause.

In the process of his filibuster, in line with 20th Congress declarations, Buck revealed that the LPP was in the process of swinging much further to the right of even its present policies.

STRIKE AND FARE HOIST FACE TORONTONIANS

By ROSS DOWSON

June '56 WV

Socialist Educational League candidate for Mayor of Toronto, 1955-56

The working people of Toronto are paying a high price for the Tory-Liberal political combination that controls City Hall. Last month two paid with their lives. Very shortly there may be no garbage collection or any other

outside services. On July 1st all the signs point to a 2½-cent fare increase being put into effect on the municipally owned transportation system.

Biagio Picciotolli, 45 years, and his son Giovanni, age 3, were burnt to death. The only stairway from



Dowson

their third floor room over a Queen Street store was blocked by flames. Building regulations require that the stairs be fire-proofed but they were not. The Building Department, under two by-laws Nos. 14466 and 9868, has sweeping powers to compel landlords to repair dangerous housing facilities.

Last year an inspection in one small section of the city revealed that 763 of 1,573 premises examined, did not meet minimum requirements. But the city council, subservient to landlord and real-estate interests, has done nothing to enforce these by-laws.

The Board of Control threatens to deprive the city of garbage collection and all other outside services, and seal off most of the city

hall, through its arrogant anti-labor relations with civic employees Locals 43 and 79.

While union representatives of Local 43, representing outside workers, Local 79, representing white-collar workers at city hall, and the firemen, were attempting to negotiate an improved contract, the Board set its budget. The budget made no provisions for any concessions to the civic employees' demands. By this tactic the Board placed the 4,800 civic employees and their families in the position where they could be made to appear responsible for any supplementary tax increase or deletion of special items from the budget.

Local 79 is seeking a 3½ per cent wage increase, Local 43 an 8 per cent increase. The Firefighters are asking for a reduction in their work week from 56 to 40 hours. All are asking for fringe benefits. Ken Hancock, a spokesman for Local 79, told the Toronto District Trades and Labor Council that "Some city workers, married, grade 3 clerks, with children, were going home with \$48 a week."

While adopting a hold-the-line
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STRIKE AND FARE HOIST FACE TORONTONIANS

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policy for civic employees, Mayor Phillips has accepted another \$5,000 a year for his position as a member of the Metro Police Commission.

Commenting on Local 43's decision to call a strike vote to back up its demands on the Board, Controller Ford Brand was quoted as saying that "We have gone further than we should have." Brand, who is a former president of the Pressmen's Union and has been traditionally supported by both labor councils as labor's controller, claims that this statement has been misinterpreted. But Hancock told a labor council meeting that Brand, also a member of the executive of the council, did not speak up for the civic employees at the Board of Control bargaining sessions which were conducted on a take-it-or-leave-it basis.

William Overkott, president of Local 43, singled out both Brand and Mayor Phillips for attack. He affirmed previous statements on Brand's failure to support the union's demands and suggested that the labor council withdraw its support from the controller. "He's no labor man at all," Overkott told the press heatedly.

The Toronto Transportation Commission, appointed by the Council, subsidized by Metro with taxpayers' money to the tune of \$2,300,000 last year, is now asking for another 2 million for the first six months

of this year. On top of this, ex-Mayor Allan Lamport, awarded the sinecure of Commission chairmanship, has proposed that fares be increased as of July 1st to 12½ cents.

The Commission has made no case that would justify this increase which will hit the low wage earner hardest. There has been no municipal audit of the Commission's books for the past 10 years—despite the fact that the Municipal Act and the Metropolitan Toronto Act require it annually. Not once since the TTC was organized in 1921 have the Commission's financial policies been subject even to independent analysis. When it was recently suggested that TTC operations be looked into by management consultants, Chairman Lamport strenuously objected.

A labor administration in City Hall would not only demand a municipal audit of the TTC books. Along with representatives of the Street Railway Workers Union, who know better than anyone the problems of the TTC, and other community organizations, it would investigate the whole structure and operation of the TTC. Should it prove necessary, it would block any further fare increase with subsidies. Funds for this purpose could be obtained by increased taxation on the business corporations that profit from municipal services.

Use Of Party Label Weighed By Unionists

By ROSS DOWSON

Socialist Educational League

Candidate for Mayor of Toronto

J. H. L. 1955-56

One good thing came out of the sparsely attended municipal affairs workshop sponsored by the Toronto and Lakeshore Labour



Council — the frank comments of several civic officials, elected with the support of the labour movement, on the question as to whether they should run under the political label

of the labour movement.

To a man, all of them CCFers, they rejected the idea that they should run under the party label.

One, an alderman, suggested that this would mean a caucus of labour elected candidates in the city council and disciplined voting by these members on issues that the caucus thought necessary to take a stand on. Despite the alderman's objection this seems quite a reasonable method of conduct — that labour representatives should be committed to a line of action predicated on labour's interests and should present a united front in order to more effectively press for legislation in labour's interests.

It would appear that once elected with labour's support these representatives would like to be the free-wheelers that they have been in the past year — free to ride

with labour when it suits their purpose, or, when it doesn't, ride with the vested interests.

Just a few weeks ago one of labour's aldermen attacked the Board of Control for its failure to bargain with its civic employees in good faith. He opposed the Board's action of barring these unions from striking and forcing them into the labyrinth of conciliation procedures with the gimmick of placing them under the Ontario Labour Relations Act. He exposed the Board for hurriedly setting the mill rate in an attempt to place the unions in a position of appearing to be forcing a tax increase.

But strange to say, the Board's strategist in this anti-union campaign was another labour representative — Controller Ford Brand. For this Brand won press plaudits as the representative, not of any single group such as labour, but of all the people — all the way from the real estate interests to the tenants, from the owner of a large estate to the owner of a small cottage who pays the same mill rate, from the chauffeured limousine rider to the TTC commuter.

Controller Brand took up the previous comments with the statement that labour, presenting itself as a group under a party system, even with the best program, could not put this program into effect unless it elected a majority of members. This simple truth is supposed to be an argument against running under a party label. Will anyone go to bat for labour other than labour itself — the Tories or Liberals for instance?

Doesn't labour need a majority to implement its program? No, the controller suggested — 98 per cent of the decisions made by municipal representatives cannot be made along party lines. Carried away by his own verbosity, Brand rhapsodized that the operation of municipal government "almost seems to be the clearest cut example of socialism." If on only 2 per cent of the decisions it mattered whether a Liberal, Tory or a labour representative sat on the council, it would seem hardly worthwhile for labour to endorse the controller or support in any way any other candidate. However, Brand's argument, a rationalization for his own conduct, has no validity. Even the example that he chose to make his point with refutes it.

"How," he asked, "are you going to divide on party lines over a zoning by-law?"

In 1952 and confirming it again in 1955, the city council passed a particular zoning by-law. They designated the Wood-Wellesley area, admittedly not a blighted or slum area — a redevelopment area. Thus they gave real estate speculators, desirous of erecting apartments in the \$90 a month bachelor suite bracket, power to expropriate the homes of the working people now living in the area. The council is faced with a similar request from a real estate syndicate that the Wellesley-Parliament area be designated a redevelopment area — also admittedly not a slum area.

In whose interests should city council function? The mortgage sharks, the building speculators, or the working people? Should the city build low cost subsidized housing — more Regent Parks? These are class issues and by the same token they are party issues. That they have not been clearly revealed as such to everyone is due to the failure of labour's representatives to stand unitedly by labour's interests.

It is apparent that the question as to whether labor candidates should run under the party label in municipal politics is not just of minor tactical importance. On the contrary, it involves every aspect of principled labour politics.

To stand by the label means to be free from any illusions about the tasks ahead. The party label means the program.

Workers' Vanguard Vol 1. No. 9 August 1956

X.W.V AUG 1956

Housing-Toronto's Shame Council Takes No Action

By ROSS DOWSON

Socialist Educational League
Candidate for Mayor of Toronto
1955-56

What's the housing picture in the Toronto area? Authorities admit that it is not very good but suggest it is getting better. Given time, they say, it will work out—in



Dowson

fact, we are headed for the welfare state. But despite all the construction that has been going on, the housing situation has been steadily going from bad to worse.

To meet the population increase alone, not to speak of the steady deterioration of present facilities, Metro authorities estimate an average of 18,000 units a year are necessary. But the past few years' building boom has averaged 3,500 units short of this minimum. Of the units being built, 40 per cent are apartment units which only one in 10 can afford to rent.

Of Toronto's 174,157 occupied dwelling units in 1951, almost 11,000 were in need of major repairs, more than 20,000 were crowded dwellings; in certain areas 10 to 30 per cent were in need of major repairs and 15 to 40 per cent were overcrowded. Since then there are 1,700 units less; what was old then is now older and in greater need of repair; what was overcrowded then is now jammed.

Rents in Toronto are the highest anywhere in Canada. The Toronto Welfare Council threw up its hands when it tried to arrive at an estimate. At any rate, in September of last year rents were 130 per cent of the 1949 index, the council says. They can only have gone higher since then for you can be sure that landlords sense the population increase and the absolute decline in available housing units.

There are just no rental homes

being built—only about 350 a year in all of Ontario for the bottom two-thirds of the income group.

There are lots of apartment houses going up, many on sites that used to provide rental houses. But they are not for working class families—most of them start with bachelor suites at \$95 a month. Fancyfully, their promoters call them redevelopment projects.

Apartments and not houses go up because there is more money to be made from them. The consequence is that many families are being compelled to double up or accept substandard housing. Metro authorities estimate that 42 per cent of the dwellings occupied by immigrants and 20 per cent occupied by non-immigrants contain two families.

DO IT YOURSELF

Of course you could build a house yourself—if you meet qualifications such as the Liberal government's National Housing Act lays down. If you are willing and able to pay \$12,685, which was the average NHA house price tag in 1955—if you are able to make a down payment of \$2,500, which was the NHA average that year. Not many families in ordinary income brackets can qualify under NHA—less than one-third of Metro families, according to Metro authorities. NHA only helps those who need help least. In 1954, 98 per cent of the NHA loans went to families with an income of more than \$68 a week—only 135 families in all of Canada with incomes below \$3,000 a year qualified.

Aside from the profit gouging of the contractors and the building supply corporations, land speculators are a big factor in Toronto area price tags. Ex-Tory Premier George S. Henry recently sold his 250-acre family farm outside Toronto for \$2,000,000. Toronto hotel owner W. F. Morrissey expressed concern over what would happen to his race horse when he pocketed \$1,075,000 for its 98-acre home which he purchased five years ago

for \$32,000.

In the whole dismal picture there is only one bright spot—a very small one—the \$16 million public project, housing 1,289 families at Regent Park.

This low rental slum clearance project is unique. The National Film Board has made a film of it that has circulated from coast to coast. The Liberals, Tories, social workers, planning boards, all the authorities are high in its praises but it remains the only one of its kind anywhere.

SHOWS POSSIBILITIES

Almost 70 per cent of its tenants were former residents of the area. Crime and delinquency have dropped sharply, as has incidence of fire; welfare costs have been drastically cut and taxes going to the city have risen eight fold.

With Regent Park having proven itself so splendidly on all counts, why aren't there similar projects going up all over the city? Why doesn't City council use its powers of expropriation to develop the already serviced land at Dufferin and Woodbine race tracks into Regent Parks? In all the hullabaloo about the Parliament-Bleecker area there hasn't been a word about developing it with a public low-rental housing project.

There are powerful forces opposed to the extension of municipally operated low rental housing—the Metropolitan Toronto Apartment Owners Association, the land grabbers, mortgage and trust companies up to their necks in speculation. More Regent Parks would cut into their lush profits. The Liberal-Tory dominated City Council has made its choice—it stands with the real estate interests. A labour council would utilize all its authority to meet the crucial housing needs of the working people.

Workers' Vanguard Vol. 1 No. 10.
September 1956

WHERE NEXT? *X* A Contribution by Ross Dowson

Where do socialists go from here? A good question, what with the Winnipeg CCF National convention.

A scattering of embarrassed apologists for the leadership, who still, for reasons best known to themselves, want to be thought of as socialists, pretend that everything is basically as it was. Smarting under the charges that they have opportunistically dumped their principles, they nervously mumble about bringing the 1933 Regina Manifesto up-to-date.

But no one takes them seriously. Least of all are these apologists taken seriously by the Coldwell-Lewis leadership itself.

It is apparent that, as far as the leaders of the CCF are concerned, the sole aim of the Winnipeg convention was to proclaim from coast to coast, in words about which there could be no mistake, that the CCF is absolutely through with what Angus McInnis told a BC convention 10 years ago is "old socialist tripe that has long since decayed" that the CCF is through with what Eamon Park at an Ontario convention three years ago sneered at as "ideological nonsense."

Anyone who has participated in the movement in recent years, or who has followed its activities closely, has long been aware that there is no more socialism in a speech by Coldwell or Gillis, than there is in that monolith called Mount Robson. The Regina Manifesto, with its declaration of refusal to get entangled in "wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism," its pronouncement on the need to "socialize the basic means of production," to "eradicate capitalism," has long had nothing in common with the public pronouncements of the party, with its election manifestos, with the speeches and the positions adopted by its MP's in the federal and provincial parliaments.

And it is not only by omission that they have made it clear that they have nothing in common with anything that the socialists at the 1933 convention managed to get written into the manifesto. Even when their influence meant nothing in the outcome of events, when their mere abstention would have won them support among broad layers of the workers, the Coldwell leadership demonstratively repudiated positions adopted by the movement—when they voted for NATO, called for intervention in Korea, supported rearmament of the enemies of the German peoples, etc.

What then has changed? Now, the national leadership has formally hauled down the tattered, torn, dishonored banner of socialism and

nalled to the masthead the slogan of peaceful co-existence between capitalist and social ownership of the means of production, "that socialism collaborate and bow before capitalism. "Make capitalism work," reads the standard to which Coldwell would have the workers rally.

What does this mean for the CCF as a movement and its future development? Why have the top brass of the party felt it necessary to so ruthlessly and demonstratively repudiate the program of the movement?

Certainly the Regina Manifesto has been a continued source of embarrassment to the leaders of the party. No matter what their actions, bigots such as Social Credit MPs continued to remind them of the party's socialist program. The Douglas leadership, beset with the problems of office in one province for 12 years now, seeking to entice investors into the province, wants to guarantee security of investment.

As long as the Regina Manifesto was not superseded by any other programmatic document it provided socialists in the movement with a lever to resist the liberal-reformist course of the leadership.

This militant past of the movement, committed to print at Regina, tended to make it attractive to radically moving workers and somewhat unattractive, despite all the appeals of the leadership, to petty bourgeois elements. For years the leadership has been attempting to cut down the clubs and constituency associations in their role as opinion and policy making bodies and transform them into election machines. The socialists with their serious approach to ideas and principles stood in the way of this process. These reasons are good and sufficient for the top leaders of the CCF to ditch the Regina Manifesto.

But one might ask—was not the whole course of events favoring all the wishes and desires, all the policies, of the right wing. "Responsible" bourgeois opinion has nothing but respect for the loyal CCF opposition. The parliamentary caucus conducts itself in the house as if clubs, constituencies, conventions and manifestos did not exist other than to ensure their election. Hasn't the right wing been able to expel those socialists who refused to walk away in discouragement but stayed to fight?

Why such blatant, such obvious revisionism, such arrant opportunism?

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THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

Published monthly by The Workers' Vanguard Publishing Association
569 Yonge Street, Toronto 5, Ont. - WA. 3-5174

EDITOR—JAMES MITCHELL

Subscription 50c a year (12 issues)

The policy of The Workers' Vanguard is reflected in its editorials. Signed articles and features express the ideas of our contributors and do not necessarily represent the policies or opinion of The Workers' Vanguard.

Set up and printed by Merchants Press, 323 King St. W., Toronto
Authorized as Second Class matter, Post Office Department, Ottawa

Vol. 1 No. 10

September '56

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(Continued from page 1)

tunism which has permitted the press from coast to coast to mockingly expose the CCF leadership?

Some commentators have suggested that this opportunistic swing to the right has as its premise the conviction on the part of the "practical" politicians of the CCF that there is a new political alignment shaping up within the framework of bourgeois politics.

The Tories are a declining force, the Liberals increasingly discredited. The CCF can win over whole slabs of Liberal support if it will only trim its sails, clean out socialism, and out-liberal the Liberals.

We question that any of the real party strategists believe this to be possible. They know only too well that there is no room for another liberal-bourgeois party. One of the arguments that they used to good effect in justifying the dumping of the Regina Manifesto in toto was that many of the minimum (reform) demands that it outlined have since been realized—by Liberal or Tory governments. They know that were the Liberals to legislate a national health plan before the next election, they would have nothing with which to cover their nakedness. And who would vote for a minor party rather than a major party which is more likely in this period to get elected and would be able to do what it talks about?

No, we have to look deeper, the "practical" politicians in the CCF top brass have no illusions on this score. It would appear that something much bigger is in the air.

A New Labour Party?

The first signs were revealed at the founding convention of the Canadian Labour Congress when the CCF trade union brass were successful in preventing pro-CCF delegates from putting the newly unified congress on record as endorsing the CCF as its political arm. At that time a Vanguard correspondent speculated that some sort of deal had been cooked up between the trade union brass and the CCF leadership.

There is a new political regroupment in the air—one that can only be consolidated by laying the ghost of socialism that has been flitting around the CCF. This alliance, formed from on top, would encompass the CCF, the CLC, the Farmers Union, and the CCCL in Quebec where the CCF has not been able to get a foothold. How this new alliance will come into being, its form, and just when, is difficult to say. But one thing is sure—that socialists will certainly have to take this probable new development into account—and now.

With the Winnipeg Manifesto, finis has been written to any concept that the CCF is a socialist party. In what, however, has it been a socialist party? No socialist could have seriously considered the present leadership capable of leading the workers in the class battles that lie ahead. Last year, the year before and the year before that, the public program of the movement was not socialist. Yet socialists supported the movement and not because of any secret solace gained from the thought of the Regina Manifesto lurking in the wings.

The LPP in the past years, when not denouncing the CCF as "social fascist" or as it did at its first Ontario convention for "setting class against class" and "raising the issue of socialism," has on one or two occasions opposed support to the CCF for some specific position adopted by the movement or its leadership—for instance, their support of NATO. But those who are neither sectarians or followers of policies determined by interests other than those of the Canadian working class have consistently supported the CCF.

Socialists have supported the CCF not because they had any illusions that the CCF was a socialist party but because it represented in Canadian politics the principle of independent working class political action. It represented a rupture from the parties of Big Business and a step of an elemental but nonetheless fundamental character in the direction of socialist consciousness. The CCF was the form that the farmer-labour party took on in this country—a reform party but nonetheless a class party—the party of the workers and poor farmers.

Socialists Remain In

Socialists have not only supported the CCF as against the capitalist parties but have remained in it and have been joined by others who understand the need to go through the experiences of the more advanced workers, by their side, explaining and sharpening their socialist consciousness. This has required socialists to make certain tactical adaptation of their views so that they would not fall under the one-edged disciplinary axe of the leadership—an axe that only cuts against the Left. But at no time have socialists hidden their criticisms of the movement from the working class.

Now, what are socialists to do? The CCF, after Winnipeg, is no less a farmer-labour party than before. But the Right has declared socialism outlaw. For the whole next period the CCF will be much less attractive than it is even now to radically moving workers. Nonetheless, we take it for granted that every socialist will fight to hold on to whatever socialist gains have been established in the movement in whatever way is open to him.

With the adoption of the Winnipeg Manifesto the struggle for a socialist policy is not ended. In a sense, and certainly in some sections of the movement, the struggle for a socialist policy will reach new heights. The rank and file have yet to see and discuss this perfidious statement. Many, both within and without the movement, who heretofore showed no interest in socialist ideology, will want to know what this is all about. The socialists will patiently explain.

There is no question that the Winnipeg convention spells out a new turn for the movement. But in the light of the probable regroupment of forces in the Canadian labour movement socialists would be ill-advised to get involved in hasty actions of a sectarian character.

The Coldwell leadership intends to settle accounts with the socialists. But the socialists have a most powerful instrument in their hands—THE WORKERS VANGUARD. Socialists across the country must rally to its side—aid in the circulation of its message and help to make it many times more effective.

Socialists should get together to discuss the path ahead. The Socialist Educational League has proven of great value in consolidating leftists both within and outside the CCF and increasing their understanding and effectiveness. Serious consideration should be given to the setting-up of similar organizations across the country.

IS IN THE PROVINCES AND IN OTTAWA

The Workers Inguard

1956

23 Vol. 1 No. 12

Toronto — Price 5 cents

November
1956



MASS REVOLT HITS HUNGARY

By JEAN LePLANTE

Nov. 1—In one week of cataclysmic struggle, the students, the workers, the soldiers of Hungary, established themselves as the most powerful force in their country. Confronted by a vast network of secret police and a heavily armed Russian occupation force with countless reserves at its disposal they launched a struggle in which they demonstrated incomparable revolutionary initiative and ingenu-

ity and inspired the world with their heroism.

Within a week of bloody conflict, the entire country rallied to the insurrection. The Kremlin's satellite Communist Party government, its occupational forces and the reserves of heavy armour that it threw against the Hungarian workers, retained only a tenuous hold on the city of Budapest. The masses everywhere rallied to the insurrection—an insurrection which the harrassed Premier Nagy has now been compelled to characterize as "a democratic movement which has swept our whole nation in order to secure our independence which is the only basis of a socialist democracy."

In the unfolding of the conflict there arose new organs of workers', soldiers' and farmers' power to give direction to the struggle and through which the demands of the masses found voice.

Hungarian troops distributed leaflets proclaiming the creation of revolutionary committees. The demands of a Provisional Revolutionary Hungarian Government and National Defence Committee were broadcast by radio stations from cities in the hands of the revolutionists. Workers on general strike in large areas of the country told newsmen that their actions were being directed by a Central Workers' Committee.

The harrassed Premier Nagy has been compelled to recognize these bodies and to state that he "begs for their support." Surrounded by hostility and by a refusal on the part of many rebels to lay down

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Bureaucrats Attempt to Smash Hungarian Workers Committees

(Continued from page 1)

their arms until all Russian troops are withdrawn, Nagy has been compelled to denounce Kremlin charges that "American imperialist circles" were behind the uprising—such a charge is "an insult to our people"—and to demand that the Soviet Army Command begin to withdraw its forces immediately.

Soviet Foreign Minister Shepilov has stated that Soviet troops would withdraw only when the revolutionists lay down their arms. But the government's demand has been backed up by a proclamation signed by the entire personnel of the National Air Defense Command insisting that Soviet units be withdrawn from Budapest within 12 hours. "If this is not done the air force . . . will stand with arms to the demands of the whole Hungarian working people."

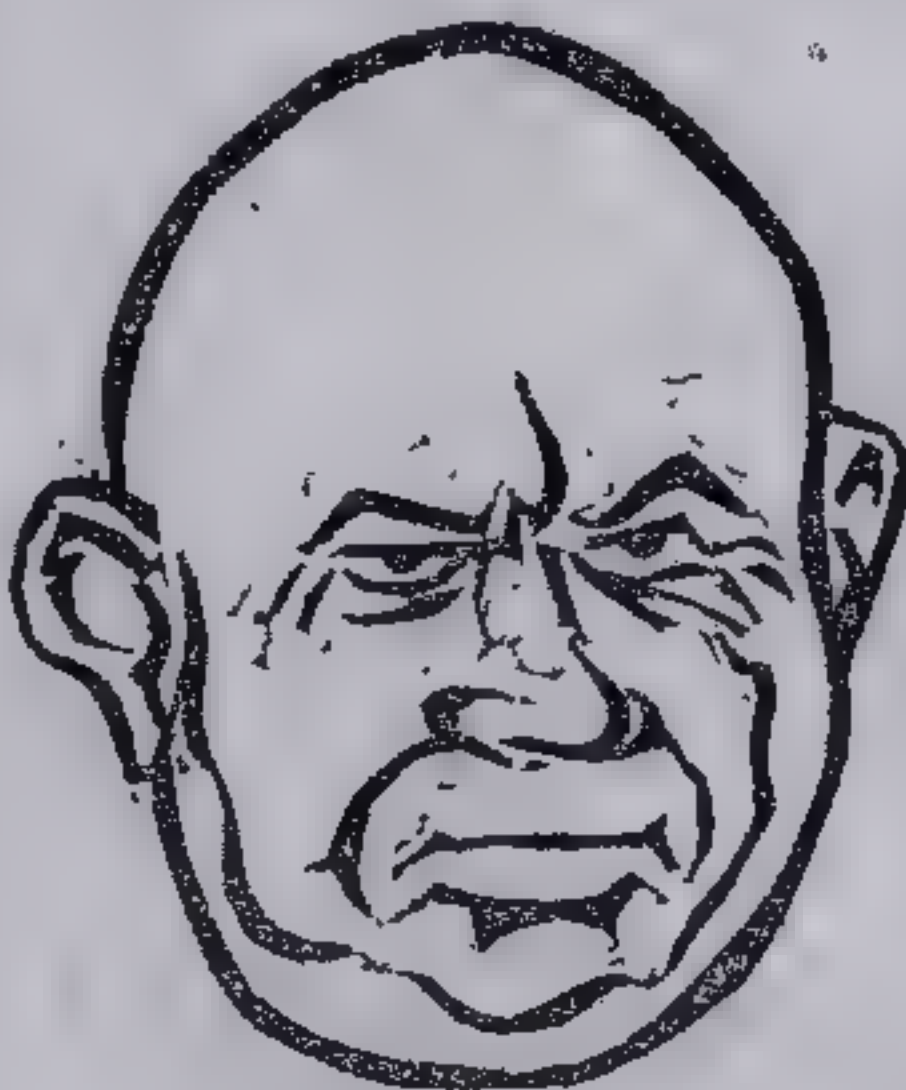
The Hungarian Air Defense Command proclaims that "all the military and economic agreements made by all governments before the government led by Comrade Imre Nagy, should be cancelled because the former governments acted in enmity and under foreign pressure."

Nagy has been compelled to deny that he had any connection with the decisions to declare martial law and to summon Soviet troops to crush the revolt. He has announced the disbandment of the hated secret police, the firing of the Supreme State Prosecutor charged with responsibility of declaring martial law, etc.

Pushed forward by the Communist Party government in the midst of the upheaval to replace the discredited Premier. Hegedus, in the same way that the CP bureaucrats dumped Gereö and replaced him with Kadar as first secretary, Nagy has been dragged along by events. After opposing

the demands of the rebels all down the line he has come to the point of making concessions only to find his concessions to be too little too late.

In what would appear to be an attempt to head off the development of the independent organs of worker-student-soldier power, Nagy has announced the formation of a new National Government which is



KHRUSHCHEV

to include in its ranks former leaders of the Small Holder Party (Bela Kovacs) which had been suppressed almost 10 years ago. Radio Budapest has announced that a truce has been arranged between a revolutionary committee of university students and the Hungarian Military Command. Workers and students in Budapest are reported to have replied to pleas that since there was a new government they could now safely lay down their arms; "That makes no difference, Bela Kovacs makes no difference. There is war and war will continue until the Russians leave."

The organs of socialist democracy exist across the country in the revolutionary councils, in the rebel governments, the students'

and soldiers' committees. What is noticeably lacking in the situation is a revolutionary party, pulling together the leading elements in the struggle, co-ordinating their aspirations and experiences, counterposing its policies to those of the various parties and tendencies participating in these bodies and attempting to win by its example the leadership of the struggle. Until such a party is developed there is a danger, with the ebb of the struggle, that the old forces of privilege and bureaucracy and even capitalist restorationist elements will come out of hiding again. No doubt this revolutionary upheaval, thrusting new forces onto the political arena, testing, junking and developing old forces on its forward march, is laying the foundations of such a party.

And the tide continues to move on in flood, not just in Hungary but in Poland, the rest of the buffer countries, and threatening to leap over into the USSR itself. Russian workers in uniform, in several incidents, going over to the side of the Hungarian revolution, expressed surprise that they had not come up against American troops or capitalists and landowners making war against Hungarian proletarians.

Radio Warsaw, confronted by pro Hungarian demonstrations and added pressures from the workers, broadcast an appeal by the new CP chief Gomulka urging the Hungarians to down arms and assuring them that the Nagy government was working to win full independence from Moscow. The presidium of the Polish Central Council of Trade Unions has resigned following expressions of no confidence from trade union activists.

Reports come through of increased Russian troop concentrations in East Germany, scene of the first great revolutionary uprising in 1953 for socialist democracy. Students are reported to have called for the resignation of CP leader Ulbrich and to have shouted "Tell us the truth," when CP leaders carried the Moscow line on the Hungarian uprising.

No Canadian Soldiers For Egyptian "Korea"

W.V. BY ROSS DOWSON NOV 56

Nov. 3—The Canadian government, through Foreign Affairs Minister Pearson, has intervened in what Anthony Eden has called a police action in "Egypt like Korea" with a proposal that the United Nations send in a military force. Canada's contribution, officials estimate, would be an infantry battalion—about 900 soldiers.

This proposal to send Canadian, along with other UN-badged troops, into the Middle East, despite all claims to the contrary, is designed to: (1) stall for time to save the Tory Eden government, tottering under the opposition of the British people, by giving it the opportunity to carry out military assaults that they hope will settle accounts quickly, (2) to realize through the offices of the United Nations what the British and French imperialist governments have wanted all along—control again of the vital Suez Canal and immediate areas, (3) to refurbish the already tarnished reputation of the United Nations which has been seriously undermined by the British and French veto and complete by-passing of the UN when it did not suit their purpose, (4) to correct what important sections of the international capitalist class think was a hasty and ill-advised action on the part of Eden and Mollet—which far from strengthening imperialist control in the ticklish Middle East, threatens to whip up the Arab masses in a vast anti-imperialist conflagration which could bring the tottering economies of the European imperialists crashing down.

US State Department head, John Foster Dulles, in his disappointment and disagreement with the French and British over their tactical handling of the situation, has cynically commented that the Israeli government has been used as a decoy. The Israeli government formally launched the struggle against Egypt. Britain and France have justified their intervention as a move to uphold international law and to "preserve the peace." Dulles has suggested that Israel will get a payoff later—perhaps the Jordanian bulge.

Whether such a deal has been made or not it is apparent that the Israeli government launched its attack on Egypt, which is heading up the pan-Arabic anti-imperialist struggle, with the complete agreement of the British and French imperialists and is acting

as a running dog for imperialism

The Cairo radio has broadcast a resolution of the International Federation of Arab workers calling upon Arab workers throughout the Middle East to destroy all foreign bases that could be used against Egypt. Demonstrations demanding the destruction of British bases in Libya have taken place in Benghazi. British banks, barracks and oil facilities have been bombed. British information offices in Dacca and elsewhere have been fired. Oil from Iraq to the Mediterranean has been cut off by the bombing of pipelines in North Syria. The Qatar oil pipelines on the Persian Gulf are said to be blown up.

The British Labour Party has commenced a campaign that is designed to bring the Eden government down, according to Hugh

Gaitskell, through the use of "every constitutional means." Anti-war feelings are running so high and demonstrations of workers and students of such a scope are taking place, as to cause the National Council of Labour, which represents the Labour Party Trade Union Council and the Co-operative Movement, to appeal to the workers to stay on their jobs and not walk out in any protests against the government's actions. Without some quick smashing blow such as re-occupation of the Suez canal zone it seems probable that the Eden government will come down.

Through its use of the veto on the Security Council and its rejection of the UN Assembly resolution calling for a cease fire, Britain, has further compromised and exposed the UN as an instrument of the Big Powers' politics. Defenders of the British action have countered by pointing out how the US carried out its war on Korea without UN authority, and overthrew the government of Guatemala, refusing to subject this action to Security Council scrutiny. But the US is trying to save the face of the UN. It sees some further use for it as a sounding board, particularly at this time for hypocritical expressions of sympathy for the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Pearson's proposal for UN intervention in the Middle East has met with acclaim from the US State Department and also from the British and French governments who would be prepared, failing a quick success in direct military assault on Egypt, to use such a proposition as a secondary line of action.

The most powerful blows against

an all-out imperialist war against the freedom struggle of the peoples in the Middle East are being struck by the working people of Great Britain. The Canadian people can aid in this struggle by refusing to support in any way the Pearson proposal to commit Canadian troops to the Middle East.

No more Koreas! Solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East! Defend the right of Egypt to national ownership of the Suez! For a referendum of the Canadian people on the commitment of Canadian troops in the Middle East! Urge the CCF MP's to vigorously oppose any and all moves to develop a Korea in the Middle East which could lead to an H-Bomb World War III.

FOR CCF GOVERNMENTS IN THE PROVINCES AND IN OTTAWA

The Workers **Vanquard**

Vol. II, No. 1

December, 1956

23

Toronto — Price 5 cents

ELECT A LABOUR MAYOR VOTE DOWSON ON DEC. 3



ROSS DOWSON

Dowson became active in the Toronto labour and socialist movement almost 22 years ago when he took part in the unemployed youth movement. A former member of the Acme Screw and Gear local of the United Steelworkers (CCL-CIO), labour journalist, Dowson is secretary-treasurer of the Socialist Educational League. As mayoralty candidate for the Revolutionary Workers Party in 1949 he polled 23,645 votes.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

- **Shift the Tax Burden onto the Rich** -
Onto industry and business establishments that can afford to pay and off the small home owner. Demand that the provincial and federal governments meet their obligations by taking over welfare and education costs. For amalgamation to eliminate duplication and waste.
- **For More Regent Parks** - For more low rental, low cost subsidized housing. Loans at cost so small home owners can rehabilitate their properties. No more fire-trap deaths—enforce the city by-laws on fire and health.
- **Halt the Rising Cost of Living** - For municipal ownership of the milk and bread distribution industry. For cheaper gas through municipal ownership. No more TTC fare hoists; increase services through subsidy if necessary.
- **Vote Yes on Extension of Franchise**
Let people rule, not property. Remove property restrictions on the vote on money by-laws. End the unequal representation on council and Metro Board. End the multiple vote and the stuffing of the commissions with political appointees.
- **Make Toronto a Labor Stronghold** -
Make conditions of employment with the municipality a pace-maker for wages, hours and conditions in Toronto industry.

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What Are The Real Issues In This Election?

What are the issues in this election?

According to the administration that is seeking re-election and the daily press that supports it right down the line, there are no real issues. In general these candidates stand "on the record"—on the record as they put it "of an honest and able administration." They may concede a few faults, an error here, a dereliction of duty there, but fundamentally everything is alright and, with their return to office they assure us, will continue in that general direction.

A program for Toronto?—they scarcely mention one. They talk about more parks, more roads, things which every person favors but about which they do so little. They mouth generalities about city planning, redevelopment, revision and stabilization of the zoning by-laws—all very technical and very vague. And no wonder. According to them everything is fundamentally alright—they stand for the status quo.

But the housing situation is going from bad to worse in

the Toronto area! The cost of living is now the highest ever recorded. Taxes continue to spiral upwards. The apparent prosperity of the citizenry is one based on debt, debt to interest gouging mortgage corporations, debt to finance companies, debt to merchandise houses. To top it all, the great majority of us—working people—live in constant insecurity. In fear of a serious illness and doctor bills, in fear of unemployment, and in fear of war—H-Bomb War.

What is the cause of the perpetual insecurity that confronts us? The vast natural resources, the mighty industrial plant, the skill of our workers, farmers and technicians are sufficient to abolish these conditions—to create a rational society.

The source of the ills that confront us is that the control of the vast wealth of this country is in the grasp of a handful of monopolists who loot and ravage it for their own selfish interest. The economic control of the capitalists is reinforced by their domination of the organs

of government through the Liberal and Progressive Conservative political machines . . . not just on the federal and provincial field but down into the municipal field also.

Under the myth of non-party politics in municipal affairs, the Tory and the Liberal political machines have fastened their grip on city hall. While their candidates claim to represent everyone from worker to employer, from small home owner to real estate mogul, from shop-keeper to chain store operator, when the chips are down, they stand with capital—with the ruling class—and for the preservation and extension of their interests. That is why they have no program to meet the real needs of the people and why their promises are hollow and empty ones.

Dowson, as candidate for mayor, has a program. It is the only practical program because it is a working-class program that unconditionally champions the interests of the working people in their struggle against capitalism and for the establishment of a society of peace and plenty.

AN ELECTION PROGRAM FOR WORKING PEOPLE

W. VAN GUVINDO DEC 1956 ✓

Tax the Rich

The chaotic, the anarchistic character of the vast industrial and housing expansion in the Metropolitan area is putting a severe strain on the financial structure of the municipalities. The inflationary pressures that are building up in the Canadian economy and the federal government's manipulation of the bank rate are forcing municipalities to pay exorbitant interest rates on their debentures.

The anguished cries from Metro

government officials about the increased costs of services and the increased costs to finance them, in the absence of any effective policy, spell out even higher taxes for the small property owner and/or the curtailment of essential services.

For no curtailment of essential services! Not higher taxes but a complete reassessment of the tax structure to place the main tax burden on those most able to pay—on industry and business.

Oppose legislation such as the Metro council sought from the pro-

vincial government right after its election last year, that would impose a 50 per cent assessment increase on single family dwellings that are being used as multiple dwellings.

No municipal sales tax as has been advocated by Attorney General Roberts. No municipal bonds bearing tax-free interest as advocated by Mayor Phillips. No municipal income tax as urged by Metro Mayor Gardiner. All these propositions place the burden on working man and his family.

The Liberals and Tories in city hall, many of whom see civic office as a stepping stone to office in federal or provincial government, and do not want to jeopardize their relations with their party

machines, shift from this scheme to that scheme. They suggest every course of action but the most obvious. A concerted campaign must be developed to compel the federal and the provincial governments to take over welfare services and education costs that properly fall within their responsibility.

For the provincial government to plead that the federal government is not returning a fair share of income tax and corporation taxes, can be no excuse. The province, if it wanted to, could raise the necessary funds from the mining or the pulp and paper industries.

To ease the tax burden off the small home owner, Dowson as mayor would rally all the forces at his disposal to press the senior

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levels of government to assume their full responsibilities to the municipality. He would demand that the provincial government institute a hospital insurance plan which it is estimated would relieve Metro of \$3 million a year in indigent costs. He would fight for an end to the wasteful form of administration that the provincial government through Bill 80 thrust on the metro area as a substitute for amalgamation. Amalgamation, would save thousands of dollars.

Housing Scandal

Housing is Toronto's number one scandal. The City Council's record is one of criminal inaction. When

(Continued on page 4)

A Program of Municipal Action For Working People of Toronto

(Continued from page 1)

the council adjourned this year it approved a proposal for a housing study. Yet there is no civic problem about which there is more information available, and there is no civic problem for which the answers have been more generally worked out.

Toronto rents are the highest anywhere in Canada. There are practically no rental homes being built. Metro authorities estimate an average of 18,000 units a year are necessary just to meet the population increase. But the past few years building boom has averaged 3,500 units short of this minimum. Of the units being built, 40 per cent are apartment units which only one in ten can afford.

The citizens of Toronto need subsidized low cost, low rental housing. They need more projects like Regent Park which gives a glimpse of what is possible. City Hall has all the necessary powers to extend projects like Regent Park.

The administration has shown itself prepared to ignore zoning by-laws, planning board recommendations, to expropriate the properties of small home owners for the benefit of wealthy building syndicates.

But it is apparent that, under the pressure of the mortgage and real estate interests, it is unprepared to use its powers in the interests of the working people even to ex-

propriate lands so obviously suitable for housing as the Woodbine race track. It let the Dufferin track slip into the hands of commercial interests.

If elected mayor, Dowson will seek the expropriation of the Woodbine race track. He will fight for low cost, low rental housing for the extension of such projects as Regent Park.

Families intending to build homes of their own, faced with increased costs due to land speculation, increased mortgage charges, outrageous prices of building supplies, etc., are being compelled to remain doubled up or to accept substandard housing.

The housing shortage is speeding up the deterioration of present facilities and creating new slum problems. According to Toronto's Urban Renewal Study, approximately 8 per cent of existing housing now needs replacement and an additional 40 per cent will require re-development or improvement within 25 years.

Last year an inspection in one small section of the city revealed that 763 of 1,573 premises did not meet the minimum requirements of the building department. Since 1951, in one area alone, 18 persons were burned to death. This year, in another part of the city, a man and his son lost their lives in a building that did not conform to

city by-laws.

City council is responsible for these tragic deaths because of its failure to see that the city's by-laws are enforced.

Under By-Law No. 14466 and No. 9868 properties considered substandard can be seized, repaired to meet the standards, and the owner forced to meet the costs of such work as a lien on the premises. Under the Fire Marshall's Act the fire chiefs have just as sweeping powers. The Health Department has the authority to close premises if they represent a health hazard.

As mayor, Dowson would enforce these regulations to the hilt.

While many of these deteriorating houses are owned by trust companies and slum empires, others are owner-occupied. In many cases their owners are in a difficult financial position to meet the costs of fighting the ravages of time on their properties. Some years ago a clause in By-Law 14466 was passed under which the city could loan money to any owner so that he could repair his properties to comply with the by-laws.

Immediately upon being elected Dowson would move a motion to make this by-law operative. He would move its amendment to raise the maximum sum per room that can be loaned and permit loans to be made at cost to the small home owner.

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Vote Yes on Extension of Franchise

Vote Yes on the question of applying for legislation to extend the municipal franchise.

Property votes in Toronto and Metro affairs, not people. Even with the winning of this plebiscite and the enactment of the legislation that it requests of the provincial government, the franchise will be far from a democratic one.

Property owners, direct taxpayers only, none of the hundreds of thousands of tenants who are indirect taxpayers, will be allowed to vote on by-laws involving the expenditure of municipal funds. The multiple vote system will remain, a system whereby a landlord, owning properties in nine different wards in the city, can vote that number of times for all posts but city executive.

There is nothing even approximating representation by population in the setup of either the Toronto city council or the Metropolitan government.

All wards have the same representation on the council although

Ward 3, primarily a businessman's ward, has less than one third the electors of the predominantly working class residential Ward 8. The metro council set-up bars minority representation as those who head the polls in the municipalities automatically step into the Metro council. The wealthy village of Forest Hill has the same representation although it has less than one fifth the population of working class North York.

Both the Metro and city government are stuffed with political appointees. The Metro mayor is appointed by the undemocratically constituted Metro Council. The commissioners of the municipally owned TTC, the Harbor Commissioners, the directors of the CNE, all of whom have considerable say over the lives of the people of this city are outside the control of the electorate. These posts are utilized to provide sinecures for the hangers-on, retiring political servants of the boss parties' political machines.

Vote yes on the referendum to extend the municipal franchise. Vote Dowson mayor to signify your desire that all reactionary and discriminatory restrictions on the ballot be removed—that there be representation by population in civic government—that the Metro Mayor be elected—for an end of political patronage.

Meet and Hear

Ross Dowson

Labour's Candidate for Mayor

SUNDAY, DEC. 2

AT 8 P.M.

— in the —

UNION HALL

32 ISABELLA STREET

(Off Yonge, south of Bloor)

Auspices of the
Socialist Educational League

Halt the Rising Cost of Living

Today the cost of living stands at the highest it has ever reached. The biggest single factor in the rising cost of living is in the increase in the price of food. From September 1 to October, this part of the government index jumped almost 2 points.

Early this month the Ontario Milk Board OKed another increase in the price of milk. This price increase is particularly objectionable hitting as it does at the health of children.

When elected mayor, Dowson will move that the municipality take over milk and bread distribution. With the elimination of the wasteful, overlapping, competitive distribution systems of the many milk and bread companies, costs will drop and this essential commodity will be more available to the people. The administration of these projects should be placed in the hands of the workers in the industry who will see that jobs are protected by cutting down the hours of work with no loss in pay.

The Liberal-federal government and the Tory-Ontario government have placed millions of dollars of

the taxpayers' money at the service of the powerful US financial interests who control the Trans-Canada pipeline. The Consumers Gas Company is going to profit from the monies handed out by these governments whereas the people should get the benefit!

Buffalo consumers obtain their gas for about one third the price Torontonians pay, although we are only 76 miles further from the present source. Gas, like Hydro and transportation, should be provided at cost. The true value of the properties of Consumers Gas should be assessed by technicians in that field and the city should take over ownership to supply the city with cheap gas.

The term of office of the appointed commissioners of the municipally owned Toronto Transportation Commission has been extended to five years—presumably in line with the argument of taking the TTC out of politics. But, in effect, it has taken the TTC out of control, not only of the electorate, but even the elected bodies of municipal government!

Last summer fares were raised

again. Yet the commission made no case that justified the increase. There has been no municipal audit of the commission's books for the past 10 years, despite the fact that the Municipal Act and the Metropolitan Toronto Act require it annually. Not since the TTC was organized in 1921 have the Commission's financial policies been subject even to independent analysis.

Open the TTC books! Representatives of the Street Railway Workers Union, who know better than anyone the problems of the TTC, with representatives of other community organizations, should investigate the whole structure and operation of the TTC.

No more fare increases. Transportation facilities should be extended into certain areas despite the fact that these particular routes may not pay. Last year the Metro government subsidized the TTC to the tune of \$2,300,000 — the commission is asking for further subsidies. Should it prove necessary, further subsidies should be granted so that cheap transportation can be provided.

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Make a Labor Stronghold

The city is the biggest single employer of labour within the municipality. Instead of setting an example that would influence wages, hours, and conditions in Toronto industry, in its recent negotiations with civic employees the Board of Control conducted itself in the tricky and high-handed manner of the most intransigent anti-labour employer.

The board refused to consider reducing the workweek of 20 employees at the isolation hospital from 44 hours to 40 hours a week because other hospitals might be faced with similar requests, reported the civic employees' union executive. Although 21 other municipalities recognize the merit of service pay, Toronto had refused to go along with it, the Firefighters president stated.

The mayor, who had just accepted

another \$5,000 a year for his position as a member of the Metro Police Commission to bring his salary up to \$21,700 a year, met the union's modest demands with a hold-the-line, take-it-or-leave-it offer. While the unions were attempting to negotiate, the board set its budget—a budget that made no provision for any concessions to the civic employees' demands. By this tactic the board tried to place its employees in the position where they would appear responsible for any supplementary tax increase or deletion of special items from the budget.

If elected mayor, Dowson would fight to see that the Board conducted itself with civic employees in a way that would help to establish Toronto as a labour stronghold.

Against War — For Socialism

With a warning DO NOT BE ALARMED, Metro Mayor Gardiner and Alderman and Chairman of the Metropolitan Toronto Civil Defence Committee D. D. Summerville have announced a series of tests of an air raid siren erected on a downtown office building.

This siren is one of 35 which will be installed in the Toronto area—installation costs alone are \$40,000. The Metro Board of Police Commissioners is in debate as to what authority civil defense auxiliary police corps are to have—461 policemen have been recruited and are undergoing training. Surveys are underway of ravines and park lands to test their suitability as reservoirs.

So, as civic authorities on the one hand urge us not to be alarmed, on the other, they go through the ludicrous efforts of preparing us to accept an H-Bomb war on the basis that there is some practical and useful form of civil defence.

"Civil defence in conventional warfare had some meaning, today it has very little. Tomorrow it will have absolutely none," said Dr. Keenleyside, director general of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, to the Canadian Club on Oct. 30.

"Everyone will be dead in three or four days or dying more slowly from the effects of fallout—in an all-out third world war," he added.

Last year it was a flimsy construction at the foot of city hall steps called "Canada's First Family H Bomb Shelter."

One year later, when the Federation of American Scientists warns that radiation from hydrogen bomb tests may have already passed the danger point, to say nothing of the additional production of this material in further tests—it is sirens, auxiliary corps, ponds in civic parks!

Not mock defence actions but actions against war itself are needed. If elected as mayor, Dowson would oppose the expenditure

of even one cent for so-called civil defence.

Instead of going along with, accepting war, a workers' administration in city hall would utilize the full force of its authority, powers, and influence, to mobilize the people in the fight against war.

Mayor Phillips has publicly identified himself and through the prestige of his office, the people of Toronto, with the struggles of the Hungarian people. But at the same time as this inspiring struggle for socialist, for workers' democracy against the Kremlin broke out, the Egyptian peoples were faced with an aggression against their country by Britain and France attempting to re-impose their imperialist grip on the Suez. The administration sat silent on this question—and all the worse for Torontonians are involved in the most immediate sense. Canadian forces are being sent by the St. Laurent government into this "dirty war" that could spark off the H Bomb war.

Dowson would lend the prestige of office of mayor to any and all actions that would eliminate the danger of war. The administration dabbles a referendum on the details of the building of a new city hall before the electorate. Dowson would urge that a referendum be held before Canadian troops be committed to overseas action such as intervention on Egyptian soil.

The defeat of the Tory-Liberal machines in the contest for the highest post in civic government would result in immediate gains for the working people of Toronto. It would be a direct blow at the Tory administration at Queen's Park and a powerful inspiration to the entire country to march forward towards the establishment of a CCF government in Ottawa and socialism in this country.

By voting for the program on which Dowson stands you can bring closer the socialist society of peace, plenty and prosperity.